CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

BUDGET AGGREGATES

[Pursuant to Section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 and S. Con. Res. 5]

	2021	2021–2025	2021–2030
Spending: Budget Authority Outlays Revenue	5,868.572	N.A.	N.A.
	5,998.437	N.A.	N.A.
	2,523.057	15,314.642	35,075.136

N.A. = Not Applicable.

SOCIAL SECURITY LEVELS

[Pursuant to Section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 and S. Con. Res. 5]
[\$ in billions]

	2021	2021–2025	2021-2030
Outlays	1,094.225	6,134.664	14,186.965
	967.243	5,214.558	11,595.674

PAY-AS-YOU-GO SCORECARD FOR THE SENATE [\$ in billions]

	Balances	
Fiscal Year 2021 Fiscal Years 2021–2025 Fiscal Years 2021–2030		0 0

10TH ANNIVERSARY OF PROTESTS IN BAHRAIN

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, 10 years ago Bahraini citizens joined many others across the Middle East in what became known as the Arab Spring, an eruption of popular protest and a call for reform and democracy that spread across the region.

In Bahrain, the Arab Spring took the form of peaceful protest. Families marched together and protestors gathered in Manama's Pearl Roundabout urging the King to grant greater economic and political rights, particularly for Bahrain's Shia majority.

The King could have responded to these peaceful protests with dialogue or discussion. He did not. The regime deployed state security forces against the demonstrators, unleashing a wave of violence and repression.

Journalists and human rights advocates documented the regime's use of tear gas and rubber bullets against the unarmed crowds. Security forces beat a number of protestors and arbitrarily detained many more, targeting even the physicians who volunteered to tend to the wounded. Security forces shot one young protestor, Ali Mushaima, in the back, killing him.

Bahrain's authorities made clear that day that they had no intention of conducting a meaningful dialogue or adopting significant reforms. They have held to that position for the last decade.

Even the Trump administration, which made no secret of its desire to downplay or overlook human rights abuses, documented in its most recent human rights report Bahrain's ongoing "restrictions on freedom of expression, the press, and the internet, including censorship, site blocking, and criminal libel; substantial interference with the rights of peaceful assembly and freedom of association . . . restrictions on freedom of movement, including revocation of citizenship; and restrictions on political participation, including

banning former members of al-Wifaq and Wa'ad from running as candidates in elections."

Bahrain has long been a valued security partner in a volatile region of the world. In addition, Bahrain hosts the Navy's 5th Fleet. This is precisely why the United States needs to engage Bahrain on these issues and to encourage reforms.

If Bahrainis come to associate the United States with their government's cruelty and repression, this security partnership could become much less reliable. If the Monarchy were overrun by Bahrainis who had come to hate the United States due to our inaction in the face of gross human rights abuses, what would happen to our military base and the thousands of Americans who live in the country? It is a question I think we would all rather not have to answer.

Mr. President, the Arab Spring of 10 years ago has long since given way to an Arab Winter in Bahrain and across much of the Middle East. In 2011, tens of thousands of Bahrainis took to the streets with hopes of a more inclusive and representative society. They are sadly still waiting for those hopes to be realized.

I am heartened that President Biden and Secretary of State Blinken have already taken steps to reprioritize human rights as a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. That must include working to hold our adversaries accountable but also speaking hard truths when allies lose their way.

It is with this in mind that on the 10th anniversary of the Arab Spring, I call on the Biden-Harris administration to urge Bahrain's King to release political prisoners, including human rights defenders and members of the political opposition, and to engage them in a credible dialogue about a more inclusive future for all Bahrainis.

CONFIRMATION OF GINA MARIE RAIMONDO

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I rise today to express my support for the confirmation of Governor Gina Raimondo, an experienced and dedicated public servant, to be Secretary of the Department of Commerce. I believe Gina Raimondo's extensive leadership

experience serving the people of Rhode Island as Governor positions her well to lead the Biden administration's ambitious agenda at the Department of Commerce.

As Secretary of Commerce, Governor Raimondo will take on challenges that directly affect my home State of Maryland. That starts with fighting for an inclusive economy with shared prosperity that truly works for everyone. The struggles of low-income and minority communities hardest hit by the pandemic have shone a harsh light on inequities ingrained in our economy. We must root out these structural problems by supporting the work of vital institutions like the Minority Business Development Agency and Economic Development Administration. And small businesses will continue to need assistance for the remainder of the COVID-19 pandemic and long afterward to ensure that we emerge from this crisis with a more resilient economy. We also need to ensure that the United States can compete in international trade by leveraging the International Trade Administration's enforcement capabilities and strengthen our manufacturing sector by harnessing the power of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, located in Gaithersburg. We must also support the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's work to fight the devastating impact of climate change and protect Maryland's Chesapeake Bay. Finally, we must improve and depoliticize our census process, which still faces challenges of data accuracy, quality, and protection.

I am confident in Gina Raimondo's ability to take on these urgent challenges. I voted yes on her nomination and look forward to working closely with her in the years ahead to build a resilient economy that works for every American.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

VERMONT STATE OF THE UNION ESSAY CONTENT WINNERS

• Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, since 2010, I have sponsored a State of the Union essay contest for Vermont high school students. This contest gives students in my State the opportunity to

articulate what issues they would prioritize if they were President of the United States.

This is the contest's 11th year, and I would like to congratulate the 319 students who participated. It is truly heartening to see so many young people engaged in finding solutions for the problems that face our country. To my mind, this is what democracy is all about.

A volunteer panel of Vermont teachers reviewed the essays and chose William Taggard as this year's winner. William, a junior at Brattleboro Union High School, wrote about the State of our Nation's democracy. Emilia De Jounge, a sophomore at Burr and Burton Academy, was the second place winner. Emilia wrote about gun control. Simon Rosenbaum, a junior at Vermont Commons School, was the third place winner, with an essay on democracy.

I am very proud to enter into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the essays submitted by William, Emilia and Simon. The material follows:

WINNER, WILLIAM TAGGARD, BRATTLEBORO UNION HIGH SCHOOL, JUNIOR

In the wake of the Watergate scandal of 1972, author and journalist Frank Herbert remarked that "good governance never depends upon laws, but upon the personal qualities of those who govern. The machinery of government is always subordinate to those who administer that machinery." The current administration has overseen an unprecedented undermining of trust in our government, the scale of which is scarcely rivaled in our nation's history. The subsequent damage leads us to Herbert's inevitable conclusion: "The most important element of government, therefore, is the method of choosing leaders."

Our democracy has been under unprecedented pressure in recent months, culminating in the insurrection in our nation's capital. Fortunately, democracy and the truth have prevailed. However, our current system leaves ample room for improvement: namely the electoral college. We face a fundamental problem that puts at risk one of the most essential assets of our great nation. We need to review the merits of the electoral college and determine how best to protect our democratic process. Two of the last three Presidents elected have failed to secure a majority of the popular vote, suggesting that while the Declaration of Independence states we are all created equal, our current democratic system makes some votes more impactful than others. A select number of "swing states" hold a disproportionate amount of power in determining the outcome of a race.

A short term solution to the flaws of the electoral college system is the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact (NPVIC). This is an agreement between states to award all of their electoral votes to the candidate that wins the national popular vote. To become effective, its signatories must control at least 270 electoral votes, currently, they hold a total of 196 votes, with another 67 pending. By eliminating "swing states," the NPVIC would spread voting power equally, regardless of which state you live in. This change would force politicians to campaign not only to "swing state" voters, but to everyone.

Long term, it is in the country's best interest to consider alternate methods of voting. Our current system forces voters to pick be-

tween two popular candidates rather than support their true favorite, but this dynamic only arises from our pick one voting system. Methods such as approval or instant runoff voting can combat polarization, legitimize third parties, and eliminate spoiler candidates; forms of proportional representation can transcend gerrymandering and incentivize cooperation through coalition building. These practices allow voters to voice their conscience without worry of "wasting" their vote and fix many of the problems our current system has.

The importance of choosing good leaders has perhaps never been more apparent—divisive rhetoric dominates the political sphere, suffocating any chance at productive discourse. As President-elect Joe Biden cautioned, "the words of a president matter." We would be wise to ensure that those words come from a leader whose authority derives not from the exploitation of the electoral system, but rather from broad consensus and a commitment to the growth and prosperity of our nation.

SECOND PLACE, EMILIA DEJOUNGE, BURR AND BURTON ACADEMY, SOPHOMORE

Columbine, Sandy Hook, Parkland every parent's worst nightmare, yet what has America done to prevent another? A study by the American Journal of Medicine in 2016 found that Americans are 25 times more likely to die from gun homicide than people in other wealthy countries. Our futile attempts at gun control have seen little success, as gun violence rates are still steadily rising, increasing almost 25% from 2019 to 2020. The right to bear arms is in our Constitution, yet that does not negate the need for sound and rational policies around the sales of firearms. Currently, nearly 400 million guns are privately owned in the US, more than the country's population, with sharp increases in recent years. Gun violence needs to be recognized and addressed as a top priority public health issue.

"It is much easier to be a legal gun owner in the US than it is to be a legal driver," says David Hemenway, director of Injury Control Research at Harvard. A first step to prevent gun violence is to make it more difficult to purchase a gun through safe gunowning training programs and requiring registration of all gun purchases. According to the State Firearms Law project, just seven states require a permit to possess a gun of any kind. A 2014 study in the Journal of Urban Health found that Missouri's 2007 repeal of its permit-to-purchase handgun law was associated with a 25% increase in firearms homicide rates.

Another important step to combating gun violence is investing in research. According to a 2017 study published in the Journal of the American Medical Association, gun violence research should have received \$1.4 billion from 2004 to 2015, based on mortality rates and funding levels for other leading causes of death, but only received 1.6% of the projected amount. According to Dr. Elinore Kaufman, chief resident in surgery at New York-Presbyterian, "we know far less about gun violence as a cause of injury and death than we do about almost every medical problem." In 1996, the NRA pressured Congress to pass the Dickey Amendment mandating that no CDC funds could be spent on research that promotes gun control, which has impaired our ability to make informed legislation.

We can look to other nations to see that gun control works. Germany has been successful in upholding the rights of its citizens, yet preventing unnecessary deaths. With one of the highest weapons-per-head rates in the world, Germany maintains one of the lowest gun homicide rates in Europe: a death rate of 0.05 per 1,000 people, compared with 3.34 in

the US, and the rate in Germany is decreasing. This accomplishment is due to strict gun laws which include psychiatric evaluations, random spot checks, and limits to numbers of guns per person. The US can enact its own version of these laws while upholding the rights of citizens. Gun violence is a widespread disease plaguing our country which can be prevented through more effective control policies.

THIRD PLACE, SIMON ROSENBAUM, VERMONT COMMONS SCHOOL, JUNIOR

This past year terrified me. It was not just the carnage and isolation of the pandemic. I wasn't afraid of war in Iran. I was afraid because a United States Senator said it was okay to assault peaceful protestors in front of the White House for a photo op and negate the constitutional right to assembly. I was afraid because the President of the United States is fighting to subvert the cornerstone of our democracy: our election process. I was afraid because the America I love and believe in felt like it was on the brink of collapse. The most pressing issue that we as Americans face today is the preservation of our democracy.

Before and after the November election, people on all sides of the political spectrum have carried on about policy and rhetoric, conspiracy theories and misinformation. No one seems to understand the gravity of the situation. What makes America special is our belief in a functioning democracy and an uncompromising defense of our constitutional rights. My ancestors came to America to grant that to me. Our predecessors built that for all of us. The one inheritance bestowed upon every American is the dignity of being American. This year, our democracy was pushed to the brink, our rights were subverted, and the dignity of America was cast aside. To me, this felt like the end.

Of course, it was not the end. We Americans kept fighting for a more equitable, democratic union and it looks like our democracy will survive. My concern is for next time. What happens if next time, the system is assaulted by a savvy politician, someone who understands the systems they hope to destroy? This year, we saw that people in positions of power would do anything to keep it.

To preserve the union and our nation, we must eliminate the possibility for a President to wield unitary executive authority. Diminishing the power of the Executive Branch will mitigate the damage that an unfit executive could cause. We must also depoliticize judicial appointments, and instate a nonpartisan federal oversight commission independent of the executive branch to ensure that political leaders are working for the people.

Additionally, we must rebuild our demoralized, undervalued federal public service. These patriotic, nonpartisan public servants have been caught in the crosshairs of this attempted coup, and we must put them first as we rebuild from this sabotage of the framework of our country. They are the ones who put their careers and in some cases their lives on the line to save America. Now we must repay that priceless debt. Increasing protections for whistleblowers, creating a federal public service academy similar to our military academies, and simply paying public servants more for the invaluable work they do will make great strides in strengthening the system against assault next time.

This past year, the great American experiment almost came to an end. The most pressing issue we face now is how do we make sure this never happens again?●

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 10:32 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Novotny, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 803. An act to designate certain lands in the State of Colorado as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1319. An act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of S. Con. Res. 5.

The message also announced that pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 1928a, and the order of the House of January 4, 2021, the Speaker appoints the following Members on the part of the House of Representatives to the United States Group of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly: Mr. Connolly of Virginia, Ms. Sánchez of California, Mr. Larsen of Washington, Mr. Meeks of New York, Mr. Brendan F. Boyle of Pennsylvania, Mr. Vela of Texas, Ms. Titus of Nevada, and Mr. Turner of Ohio.

The message further announced that pursuant to section 2 of the Migratory Bird Conservation Act (16 U.S.C. 715a), and the order of the House of January 4, 2021, the Speaker appoints the following Members on the part of the House of Representatives to the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission: Mr. Thompson of California and Mr. Wittman of Virginia.

The message also announced that pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 6913, and the order of the House of January 4, 2021, the Speaker appoints the following Members on the part of the House of Representatives to the Congressional-Executive Commission on the People's Republic of China: Mr. Suozzi of New York, Mr. Malinowski of New Jersey, Ms. Wexton of Virginia, Ms. Tlaib of Michigan, Mr. Mast of Florida, Mrs. Hartzler of Missouri, and Mrs. Steel of California.

The message further announced that pursuant to 36 U.S.C. 2302, and the order of the House of January 4, 2021, the Speaker appoints the following Members of the House of Representatives to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council: Mr. Deutch of Florida, Mr. Schneider of Illinois, Mrs. Lawrence of Michigan, Mr. Zeldin of New York, and Mr. Kustoff of Tennessee.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bill was read the first and the second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

H.R. 803. An act to designate certain lands in the State of Colorado as components of the National Wilderness Preservation System, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

MEASURES READ THE FIRST TIME

The following bills were read the first time:

H.R. 5. An act to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex, gender identity, and sexual orientation, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1319. An act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of S. Con. Res. 5.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, and were referred as indicated:

EC-531. A communication from the General Counsel, Government Accountability Office, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the Impoundment Control Act of 1974 and the Release of Certain Withheld Amounts; to the Committees on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry; Appropriations; Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs; Commerce, Science, and Transportation; Energy and Natural Resources; Environment and Public Works; Foreign Relations; Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions; the Judiciary; and Rules and Administration.

EC-532. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Complex Polymeric Polyhydroxy Acids; Amendment to the Exemption from the Requirement of a Tolerance" (FRL No. 10018-54-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-533. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Oxalic Acid; Exemption from the Requirement of a Tolerance" (FRL No. 10017-66-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-534. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Orthosulfamuron; Pesticide Tolerance" (FRL No. 10018-53-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-535. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fluxametamide; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL No. 10018-86-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-536. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Emamectin Benzoate; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL No. 10018-70-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-537. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Clopyralid; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL No. 10017-26-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-538. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Benzovindiflupyr; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL No. 10017–32–OCSPP) received in

the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-539. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Extension of Tolerances for Emergency Exemptions (Multiple Chemicals)" (FRL No. 10017-55-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-540. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Streptomycin; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL No. 10017-52-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-541. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Extension of Tolerances for Emergency Exemptions (Multiple Chemicals)" (FRL No. 10017-55-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-542. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Ethaboxam; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL No. 10018-73-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-543. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Benzovindiflupyr; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL No. 10017-32-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-544. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Streptomycin; Pesticide Tolerances" (FRL No. 10017-52-OCSPP) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-545. A communication from the Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to a violation of the Antideficiency Act that involved fiscal year 2015 Operations and Maintenance (O&M) funds and was assigned case number 20-01; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EC-546. A communication from the Deputy Secretary, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Adjustments to Civil Monetary Penalty Amounts" (Rel. Nos. 33-10918; 34-90874; IA-5664; IC-34166) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-547. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Full Approval of Revised Clean Air Act Operating Permit Program; North Dakota" (FRL No. 10019-27-Region 8) received in the Office of the President of the Senate on February 25, 2021; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-548. A communication from the Director of the Regulatory Management Division,